114
175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacaré had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [16] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of •797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have 177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in- 197 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. [164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct 177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration •797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] [165] [731] [178] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected the social organization to such an extent that important traits of Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

177 The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people [821] knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost [731] [726] nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to
settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this re-
quest was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed
20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from
a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among
the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe
since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the
Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out
on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said,
"I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to
a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you
need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer,"
as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big
killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he
laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front
of the little house beside the village which had been built for him
and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one
of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told
us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest.
Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they
had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by
telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away.
They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged
woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to
sleep."

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
● [797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

648 The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
177 whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[797] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaninẽ in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirapé River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirapé regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirapé will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirapé culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirapé population.

In the memory of one Tapirapé informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[1] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirapé at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirapé. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[1] Probably through the Caraja.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[797]

Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organized unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančе*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[197] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 115 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

116 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
● [797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course